



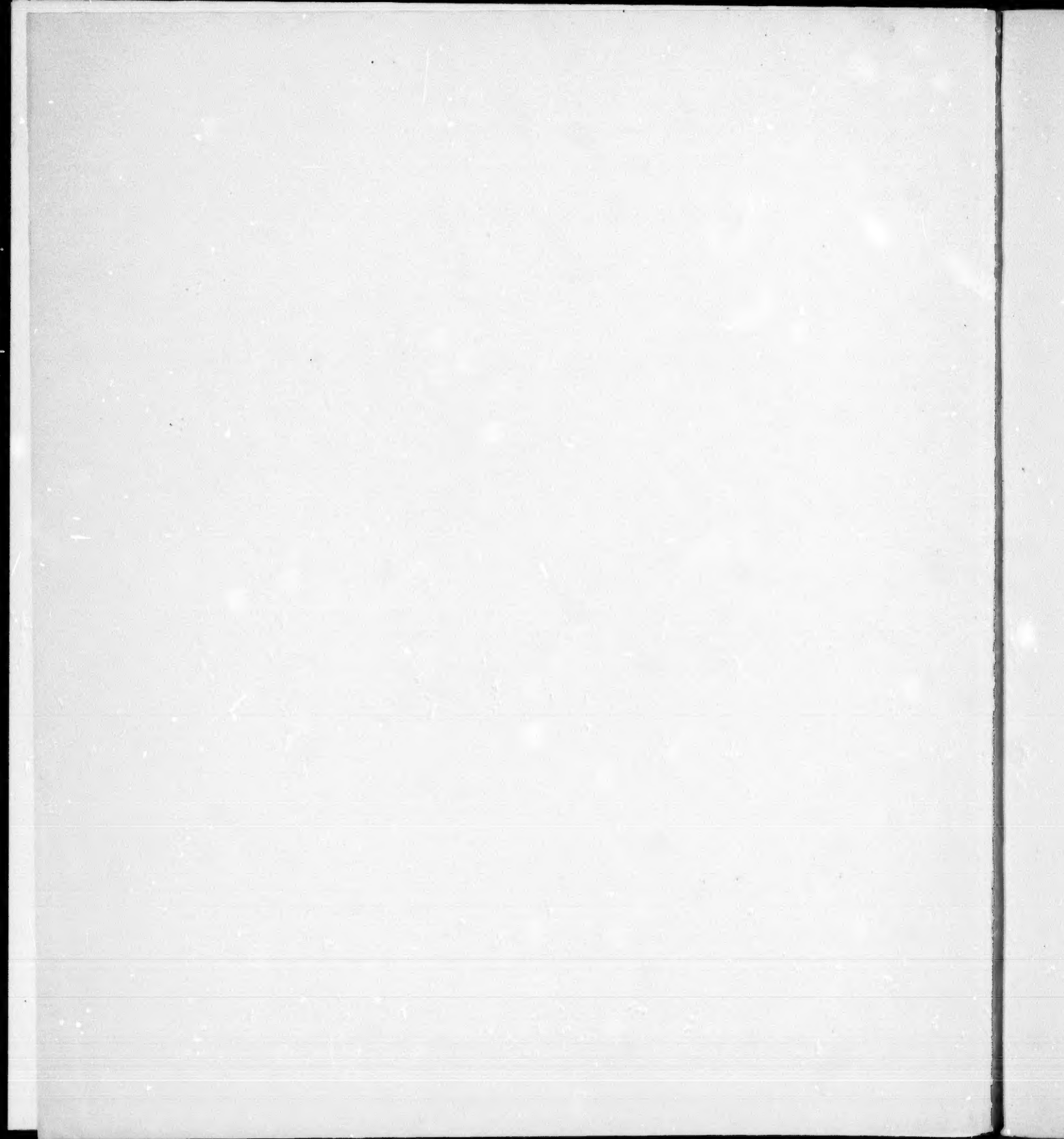
JOHN CABOT'S LANDFALL

IN 1497,

AND THE

SITE OF NORUMBEGA.

EBEN NORTON HORSFORD.









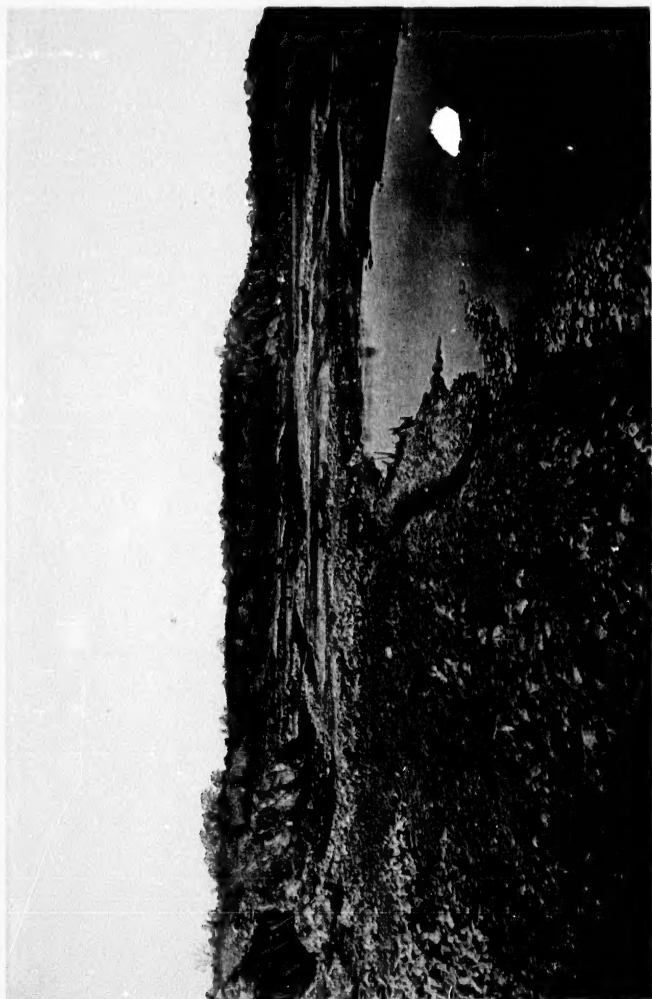
346. — Monsieur HARRISSE,

30, rue Cambacérés.









THE AGENCY OF THEVET;  
AND  
ENTRANCE TO THE DITCH SURROUNDING FORT NORUMBEGA.

JOHN CABOT'S LANDFALL

IN 1497,

AND THE

SITE OF NORUMBEGA.

A LETTER TO CHIEF-JUSTICE DALY,

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

BY

EBEN NORTON HORSFORD.

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# JOHN CABOT'S LANDFALL

AND THE

## SITE OF NORUMBEGA.

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CAMBRIDGE, March 1, 1885.

CHIEF JUSTICE DALY, LL.D.,

*President of the American Geographical Society.*

DEAR SIR, — I desire to place in your hands a summary statement in regard to the results of some geographical studies in which I have been engaged.

The time when my completed paper, with the accompanying sketches and maps, will be ready for publication depends upon two or three considerations which I cannot control. Meanwhile, it seems proper that I should deposit with you a brief record of the discoveries I have made.

They are —

1. The site of the landfall of John Cabot in 1497.
2. The site of the Fort Norumbega of the French, on the banks of the river bearing the same name; and of the Indian settlement near the fort, — the Agency of Thevet; and near it the Norumbega of Allefonsce, visited in 1569



by the sailor Ingram and his companions, of the unfortunate expedition of Sir John Hawkins.

I submit herewith a brief outline of the considerations on which my conclusions rest.

I.

On the map of Michael Lok (1582), of which the copy in Hakluyt (*Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America*) prefacing the relation of John Verrazanus, p. 55, is here referred to, you may recall between latitudes  $42^{\circ}$  and  $51^{\circ}$  N., and between the meridians of  $300^{\circ}$  and  $320^{\circ}$ , a large island, and on it, in prominent letters, NOROMBEGA, and in lesser letters, *John Gabot*, 1497. The point of land against Claudia, a smaller island, is between  $42^{\circ}$  and  $43^{\circ}$  N.

This fragment of the map — *not including* the inscription "Jac Cartier 1535," and the coast lines of the region above, *but taking in the outline of the neighboring shore southward to Carenas the latitude, the names Carenas, Montes Johannis, Claudia, St. Johan, Cape Breton, and Norombega* — I have taken to be a sketch produced by John Cabot on his return from his voyage, early in August, 1497,<sup>1</sup> of what he observed between the morning of the 24th of June and the date of his departure from our shores.

The safety of this assumption will be seen as the considerations on which it rests are unfolded.

<sup>1</sup> The elaborate paper on John Cabot, by Mr. Charles Deane, in Winsor's "America," leaves no question unsettled as to 1497 being the year of the first voyage of John Cabot to our shores.



[illegible]

Fac: Sch 13  
Groefland.

Occidens: 50

Natus carnalino: quo rite hic a  
mellucis, hincque vocissim ad mazzacchi-  
formis so-ditibus mazzacchi an. 50

A Galvano. G. Privil.

Ergo nau-pationes  
anum 1620-

G. Frisius.  
 Evange nauibales  
 morum. 1520.  
 16

... 152 ...  
... 152 ...  
... 152 ...

Anglorum



Circ 412

Arcticus

Aug 12 1576

Sagunay Hochelaga  
Montes  
S. Johannis

~~Case: 1~~  
CVL 1 A CAN

~~G A L I C I A~~

FLORID

Apal chert

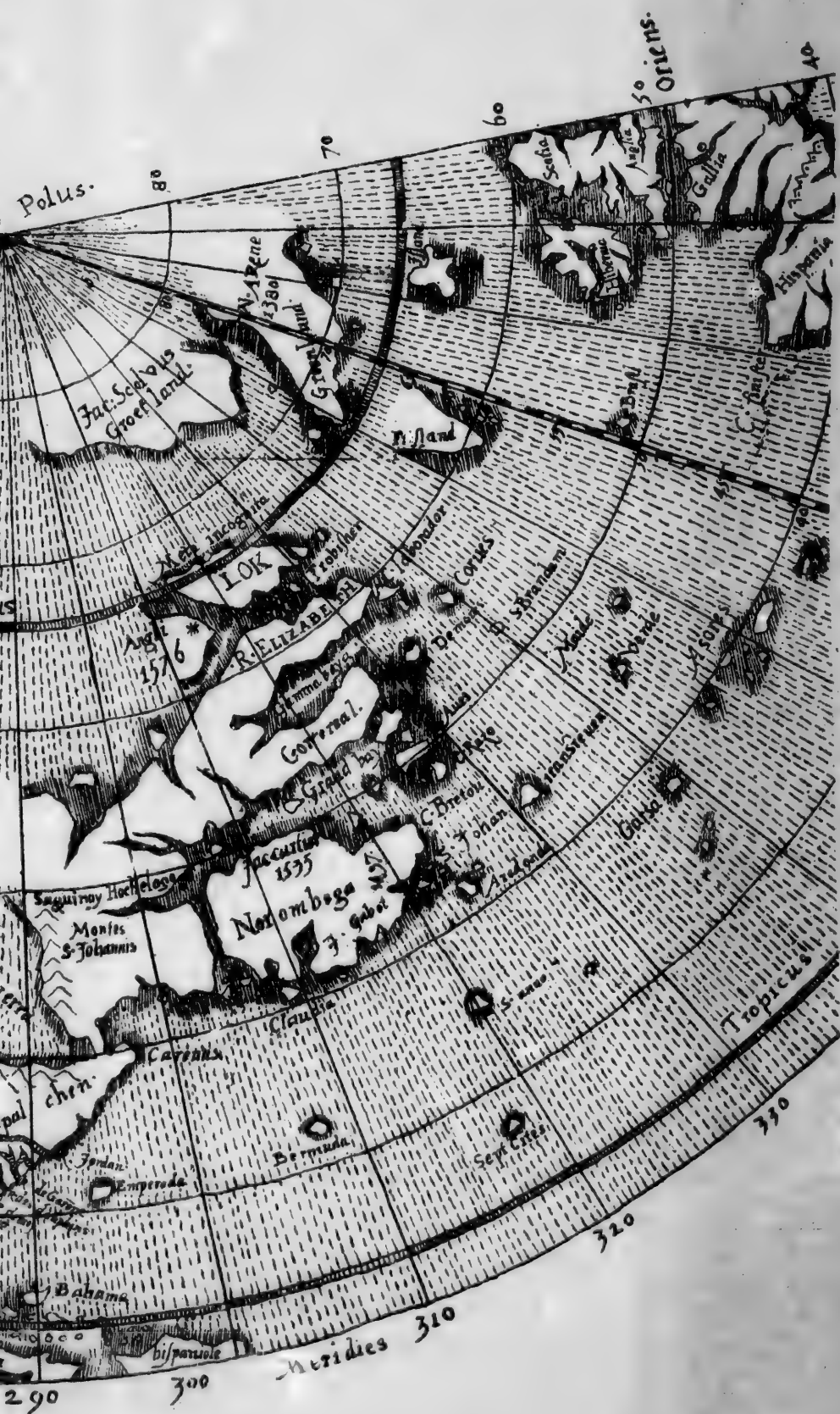
Emperod

Bahama

Isabella

290

30







John Cabot believed his landfall, like that of Columbus five years before, to have been on an island. The site of the landfall has been lost. When it shall have been found we may know who first in the fifteenth century saw the continent of America; for Columbus came upon the mainland (South America) in 1498, and Vespucci a year later.

The map of Lok presents Carenas (enough recalling Kjalarness of the Norsemen to suggest heirship), the C. de Arenas in various forms of so many maps of the sixteenth century, the Cape Cod of Gosnold, and, as seems to be determined by the flags on Cosa's map of 1500 (Jomard's or Stevens's), the southern limit of Cabot's explorations in 1497.

The outline of Cabot's chart, and especially that of Cosa's, suggests a general resemblance to the coast as far north as the mouth of the Merrimack, — which is by Lok, I conceive, confounded with the St. Lawrence, — discovered, as recorded on the same map, in 1535 by Jacques Cartier.

I take the Norumbega (or Norumbega) to be the name which (like Carenas) Cabot did not bestow, but *found*. He gathered naturally, in the absence of a knowledge of the language spoken by the natives, that it was the name of a *locality*, in the sense of a district, or settlement, or country. This notion, which students all alike have inherited, has obscured research in regard to the landfall from that day to this. It was a mistaken notion, as will become obvious farther on.

Dr. Trumbull has pointed out that each Indian geographical name was *descriptive* of the place to which it was affixed. There were no *meaningless* proper names. A locality was recalled, to the Indian, by presenting a mental picture in a descriptive term. So there were repetitions of the same name where there were repetitions of the same topographical features.

When Captain John Smith, in 1614, standing on the little peninsula between the modern Jones River (the Rio San Antonio of the preceding navigators) and the outer harbor or bay between Plymouth and Duxbury, asked the name of the site of the cluster of huts Champlain had figured, and which on Verrazano's map (so I conjecture) is represented as Lunga Villa, on the other side of the stream, the reply was *Accomac*, "*the other side place*." The same reply was elicited on inquiry, and the name has been preserved as to the peninsula east of the Chesapeake, — *Accomac*, "*the other side land*." The same name, with dialectic variation, was applied to England, the home of Roger Williams, by the Indians of the Narragansett tribe, — *Accomac*, "*the other side country*."

As there were many *beyond lands* (accomacs), so there were many *falls* (pautuckets), many *hills* (wadchus), many *ponds* (baugs, paugs), etc.

There were, of course, *different* names for the *same* place, determined from the point of view of the observer; as, for Boston, *Sha-um-ut*, "near the neck," the settlement between Haymarket Square — the head of an ancient cove — and Dock Square (Blackstone); also, *Mushau-womuk*, the "canoe landing place" (Indian books

of 1699 and 1700); also, *Accomonticus*, the "beyond-the-hill-little-cove" (Ogilby's America, 1671); also, *Mess-atsoo-see*, the "great-hill-mouth" (Rasles, and Wood's N. E. Prospect<sup>1</sup>). All were Indian names of Boston. All were descriptive.

The same name was applied to objects possessing some greatly unlike qualities, but having others in common; as *Mi-sha-um*, the "great-parallel-sided," was the name of Charlestown Neck, — *great* as compared with Copp's Hill, the north extension of the *Sha-um*, "the neck" of Boston. *Mi-sha-um* was also the name of Charles River (Wood's N. E. Prospect), the "great-parallel-sided."

The name also applied to canoe, — *Mi-sha-on* or *Mi-sho-on*, — and to the long, straight trunk of the tree from which the canoe is made (Heckwelder).

As there were no PROPER *Indian geographical names*, and as *Norumbega* was *descriptive* of topographical or hydrographical features, the first task was to find its meaning. This might help in finding the locality. To this end aid was long sought in vain in vocabularies. It seemed an obvious Algonquin word. But in any form of ready recognition — any form that familiar dialectic variation would include, at least within the range of my limited study — it eluded my search.

Feeling sure on the point that the name was *descriptive* of some locality on or near the seashore, and therefore embracing probably both land and water, I began by

<sup>1</sup> Wood gives the modified Massachusetts, with one *h*. See paper on "Indian Names of Boston and their Meaning," in N. E. Hist. Gen. Soc. Proceedings, read Nov. 4, 1885. — E. N. H.



placing the Indian geographical names of the region of the Atlantic coast, from Davis's Straits to Long Island, N. Y., in columns against their respective latitudes along the outline as given in the chart of the United States Coast Survey.

On glancing through the names so arranged I remarked a striking peculiarity. The names grew *easier of utterance* as one moved southward. *Quebec* on the St. Lawrence became *Ahquebogue* on Long Island, N. Y.

Kennebec (of Maine, the Aghenibékki of Rasles) became *Quinnebequi*, and farther south *Quinnebang*, *Quillipiac*, *Quirripiohke*, and lastly *Quinnepyoohgq* on Long Island Sound. *Keag* became *Quag*, *Quaog*, and *Quau-ogue* (*Quohog*).

As one moved southward—from a region where the conditions of living were hard, to where they were less exacting; from the region where life was perpetual struggle, to a region where there was relative leisure, where there were more extended manufactures (wampum), more commerce (furs), more decoration—the names became softer; as they become softer as one goes from Norway southward to Italy or Spain.

*Bec*, as the terminal syllable of a name *north* of the Merrimack, was not found *south* of the *Charles*; but in its place, as already intimated, appeared *bang*.

Between these rivers we might look for an intermediate form; we should find the *southern* limit of *bec*, or as spelled by Rasles (as above) *bek-ki*, and by Father Vetromile *be-ghe*, making two syllables; and we should find the *northern* limit of *bang*.

We do not know how John Cabot thought the Indians pronounced the last two syllables of Norumbega; whether as if requiring two e's, thus *beega*, or but one, as in *beg*. The French of later date wrote it *bégué*.

Of the Indian names preserved from the days of Captain John Smith (1614), along the coast between the Merrimack and Charles, there are but two, or at most three, that begin with *N*,—*Naumkeag*, *Nahant*, and *Nantasket*; the latter the headland on the *south* side of the entrance to Boston harbor, the mouth of the Charles.

Naumkeag, or Nahumbeak, is the ancient Indian name of Salem. The first occurrence of the name in print is in the record of the intrepid Captain Smith. It will be remembered that, landing on the island of Monahigan (or Manigan), off the coast of Maine, after instructing a portion of his ship's company to collect fish, he coursed with a boat's crew of eight beside himself from the mouth of the Penobscot to Cape Cod, looking into and sounding the harbors, and acquiring the Indian names of the places along the shore and some of those inland. Among these was Naembeck, sometimes written by him Naemkeck, apparently with indifference, or as if he thought the first letter of the terminal syllable might be either *ö* or *ë*.

He placed these names upon his outline map of the coast, and on his return to England submitted it, with an account of his discoveries, together with a scheme for colonizing *New* England. While seeking in various ways to awaken interest in his project among the English people he found no little opposition, and fell at length upon an advertising idea, as we shall see, of far-reaching influence.

He invited the eldest son of the King, Prince Charles, then a boy of fifteen or sixteen, the future Charles I., to attach such English names to the localities bearing the Indian names as might be acceptable to his Royal Highness, and so obliterate the barbarous names. The Prince acquiesced. He gave names to sites of towns, bays, capes, mountains, etc., of which but three have been retained,—Cape Ann (named after his royal mother), Plymouth (which came to be occupied by emigrants of the Mayflower fleet), Charles River, and possibly Cape Elizabeth.

The Prince, like Smith, conceived the names to be *proper* names. Ogilby (1671) imbibed the same notion; he says, in his detailed account of the settlement of the earlier New England towns, the "Indian name of Salem was Nahumbeak." We have already seen John Cabot's inscription of Norumbega as a *country*. As intimated above, it will be seen that the name was a mere descriptive appellation, permanent only to an observer from a given point, and changing from Nahum-beak to Nahumkeak with change in the point of observation. The name of to-day is Naumkeag.<sup>1</sup>

This name — Nahumbeak — is the only name preserved to us between the Merrimack and the Charles that at all suggests Norumbega.

<sup>1</sup> This point is discussed at length in my full paper.

## II.

Let us now proceed with the study of the meaning of the word.

The word is resolvable into two members,—*beak*, of which we have already learned something; and a remainder, *Nahum*, to be the subject of special study.

Beak may be divided into two syllables, *be* and *ak*.

The first syllable appears in the Delaware language, according to Zeisberger, *n'bi*; or in the Narragansett, *n'pi* or *n'p*. Rasles gives for the Abnaki dialect nearly the same,—*neb*. In its combinations *m'* and *n'* are dropped, and what remains means *water* in the abstract, or possibly, as there seems to be indication of it, water as a *beverage*.

The second syllable is derived from *ahke*, land. This corresponds with, and is a dialectic variation of, *auke* (Roger Williams) and *ohke* (of regions farther south).

The combination without abbreviation would give us *be-ahke*, which, with an acute accent, corresponds nearly with the word *bé-ghe*, given by Father Vetromile as the pronunciation of the Penobscot Indians of to-day.

This word, according to Vetromile, means "still water." According to the old Penobscot Indian hunter, John Penowit, whose authority Mr. L. L. Hubbard relies upon, it means "dead water," that is, "water without current."

Such water farther south might be called a *pond*, ending in *baug* or *paug* (for instance, *Quinnebaug*, *Ponkipaug*); or as nearly enclosed "dead water" between rapids above and below, such as Father Vetromile encountered when inquiring for Norumbega (what the voyageurs called



Nolum-beghe); or it would be a bay or harbor, such as Naumbek.

Be-ah: or beah-ke, or be-ghe or be-ga, would apply to the harbor of Salem, between Marblehead and the Beverly shore, inside of Baker's Island, or of the many "*Breakers*" of the Coast Survey map.

These four forms differ but little from each other, or they glide into each other, and are quite within the limits of dialectic variation: indeed, within the limits of such possible deviation as might occur in the utterances of neighboring settlements, and altogether within the range of deviations in names such as the Indian name of dog, as will be seen further on.

It may be accepted, then, that the two syllables in be-ak are the dialectic representatives of the two syllables in he-ga, and mean water *without current*, as the water of a bay.<sup>1</sup>

Let us now turn to the first two syllables of Nahum-beak.

<sup>1</sup> I find in Conn. Hist. Soc., vol. ii. p. 15, in Dr. Trumbull's paper on Indian geographical names, under 4: "Paug, pog, bog (Abn. *-bega*, *-begat*; Del. *pecat*), an inseparable generic, denoting *water at rest*."

I had sought for the word *bega*, as a "*separable* generic," in Rasles's Dictionary, but without success. Dr. Trumbull had been more thorough. What I had deduced with some circumstance was thus confirmed in the most direct and satisfactory manner. It came to me only after my letter had been placed in the hands of Judge Daly for publication.

It may be questioned whether *Bega* is an "inseparable generic." In Ingram's relation we have both *Bega* and Norumbega.

Rasles lived and wrote at Norridgewock, on the Kennebec, not far from the southern limit of the Abnaki country, and also of the prevalence of their dialect.

These occur in modification, in the various ways of writing the same name by Smith, Ogilby, Wood, Gookin, Lothrop, and others; for example:—

N a hum (Ogilby gives the aspirate).  
 N a um.  
 N a am.  
 N a em.  
 N a m.  
 Nchim.  
 N e m.

The first syllable is sometimes No, sometimes Na, sometimes Noa, and of still other forms, of which mention is made by Trumbull.

It means *middle, between, dividing, separating, and the like.*

Rasles gives for *midway*,

Na-wi-wi.

*Wi* means way. In this word the syllable *wi* is repeated; that is, there are *two ways*. Midway is where the two ways come together, or where the *single way* is divided into *two ways*.

Na-sha-wi (Nashaway) is a word frequently used by Eliot in his translation of the Bible into the Massachusetts dialect. Sha, which means *parallel-sided*,<sup>1</sup> with the prefix *na* and the suffix *wi*, is used by him as the Indian equivalent of "between the walls" (of a street, for example). Na-na-sha-wi, or *we* (*na* repeated for emphasis), he employs for *in a strait betwixt two*.

<sup>1</sup> The etymology is discussed at length in my full paper.

*Na* by itself, in which form it does not occur, would be a preposition; but combined with *um* (or *wum*, or *un*, or *on*?), in the Massachusetts (Natick) dialect it is converted into a substantive.

As *sha* (*parallel-sided*) with *um* becomes the noun *Sha-um* (*neck*), so *na* (*between* or *separating*) with *um* becomes the noun *Na-um* (*divider*).

*Na-sha-un* is the *parallel-sided* island *between* Buzzard's Bay and the Vineyard Sound (*Nau-shaun*).

*Na-sha-onk* (*onk* means *upright*) is throat,—*Middle* of the *parallel-sided-upright*. *Mun-na-onk* (*Mun* means *elevation*), elevation in *middle* of upright, is also throat, or more especially the *middle* projection, the *larynx*.

We have thus pointed out the meaning of *Nahum*.

It is *divider*.

In combination with *beak*, it is *divider of the bay*.

That which divides a bay—a tongue of land rising from the bottom of a bay, which makes two bays—is a *Nahum*.

The meaning of

*Nahum-beak* is *Divider of the Bay*.

*Nahum* applies to Salem Neck, which divides the waters of Beverly shore,—the North River, locally so called, from the South River, beyond which is Marblehead.

We have seen how *beak* is the dialectic equivalent of *bega*.

How are we to see Nahum, the equivalent of Norum, or Norem, or Norim, etc., as the name appears in Norumbega on different maps of the sixteenth century?

We have, happily, an historic instance of parallelism of dialectic variation.

Roger Williams, Eliot, Experience Mayhew, and Josiah Cotton, and several more modern writers, have remarked upon the dialectic variations in the pronunciation or spelling of the Indian name of dog.

It is Ayem, Narragansett (Roger Williams).  
 Alum, Narragansett and Nipmuk (Eliot).  
 Anúm, Massachusetts, Um *produced* (Eliot).  
 Aunum, Massachusetts (Wood's N. E. Prospect).  
 Annúm, Massachusetts (Cotton).  
 Arum, Northern Abnaki.  
 Attum, Etchemin.

The primitive root here is the simple bark *ä*, to which, with an intervening consonant, the syllable *um* is joined, which makes a substantive, as we have seen in the dialect spoken in this region.

Eliot remarks, as mentioned above, that the sound of *u* is *produced*; that is, it is like *oo*. This provides for one of the sounds of *o* in the second syllable of *Norum*; *um* may become *oom*, or perhaps *õm*. The first syllable was in Eliot's day sometimes spelled *Nõ* as well as *Na*, as already remarked.

Between these two syllables, *a* and *um*, there might be interposed a variety of consonants. As there was no *r* in the Narragansett language, according to Roger Williams they substituted the letter *l*, or omitted the consonant

altogether, as in Ayem. The interchangeability of *l* and *r* in the Algonquin has been remarked upon by Williams, Eliot, Cotton, and Mayhew, and by every modern writer upon Indian dialects. Williams's Key appeared in 1643.

In some combinations in Indian (Algonquin) words the interchangeability or alternateness includes *n* with *l* and *r* (for example, Quille, quirri, quinni).

We have thus pointed out the dialectic equivalency of the several elements of Norumbega with those of Nahumbeak.

We may have *Na* or *No* and *l* or *r*, with *um* or *om* or *em* or *im*; or neither *l* nor *r*, but simply *um* or *hum*, and *beak* or *beghe*, or *bega* or *bégue*.

Where, instead of a *bay* divided by a tongue (Norum or Nahum) of *land*, there are *head-lands* divided by a tongue (Norum or Nahum or Naum) of *water*, as Marblehead and Marblehead Neck, there was Na-um-Keak (Keak=ahke-ahke). Naumkeag may not be the equivalent of Naumkeak. The termination *eag* occurs in instances where there is shallow water, and in some cases where the bed is bare at low tide. It was applied by the Indians, in relatively recent times, to the North River at Salem. (History of Old Naumkeag.) The Naum or tongue may be merely the *deeper bed* of the river *separating* the shallower waters on either side. Both Naumkeag and Nahumbeak occur on sheets of water inland as well as along the seashore.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is not worth while to point out in this summary the wide range of dialectic variations of these words which I have found. A few may be alluded to. There is Naam-keake on the Pond Annannieumsic, in Chelmsford, near

Norumbega may, like Naumbeak, apply to any bay from the bottom of which rises a narrow tongue.

It is obvious, therefore, that the determination of the meaning of Norumbega and its identity with that of Nahumbeak has made it, at the best, *probable* that the Nahumbeak of Salem harbor is the Norumbega of Cabot. It has made it more *probable* that the Norumbega of Cabot is to be found in the belt of latitude in which meet the terminal syllable *bec*, which prevails north of the Merrimac, and the terminal syllable, its dialectic equivalent, *baug*, which prevails south of the Charles.

### III.

If we look carefully at the sketch of John Cabot on Lok's map of 1582, we may remark that the *outline of the shore* against the island Claudia rudely resembles the capital letter M, the V portion between the two columns corresponding with the tongue or Norum.

If you take a tracing of the outline of this bay on Lok's map, and apply it to the map of Cosa (1500), you will find the Norumbega, or the letter M, within a large island, and not far from the Cabo de Yngla-terra (the Cape Breton of Cabot, the Cape Ann of to-day).

Lowell. Another is concealed, near the Merrimack, in Amoskeag; less perfectly in Naumkeag; more deeply in Nehim-kek, in Namskaket, in Namasket, and in half a dozen or more of others, all of which have been the subject of discovery in the detailed town maps of Massachusetts, and of investigation in early Massachusetts history. In this frequent recurrence of dialectic variations of the name may have originated the notion that Norumbega was the name of a *country*.



I conjecture this portion of the coast was furnished by one of Cabot's crew.<sup>1</sup>

You find the M, this Norumbega, on the map of Thorn (1527), who claimed that his father was with John Cabot in 1497.

You find the M on the map of Verrazano. If you will note in the letter of John Verrazano to the King, one of the two bays he visited, where he found the tide *eight feet* (which range is attained north of Cape Cod), you will find the letter M, the Norumbega, the *divided bay*, figured there. It was here that he remained fifteen days.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> What so natural as that the sailor who had been, as I conceive, with Cabot, and had perhaps shipped with Cosa (who was not personally on the shore of New England), should have given prominence to the feature which had challenged the attention of himself and shipmates? A careful examination of Jomard's Cosa's map will show that twice the contributor reduced the length of the tongue rising from the bottom of the bay, as his judgment required, in the sketch which Cosa has preserved, and with it the sites of the English flag. Have we not, in Cosa's straits, the memory of the island of the *landfall*, and also of the *two islands* observed at his *right hand* by Cabot on his voyage homeward?

<sup>2</sup> There is another key besides the tide to the localities on the map of Hieronymus Verrazano, in the isthmus which separates the Mare Verrazano of Lok's map from Massachusetts Bay; see also the maps of Agnese, 1536, Ptolemy, 1540, Ruscelli, 1544, and the globe of Ulpius. *This isthmus is the narrow part of the Cape Cod peninsula in the neighborhood of Barnstable, where it is even less in width than the six miles given by Hieronymus Verrazano:—*

"Da questo mare orientale si vede il mare occidentale. Sono 6 miglia di terra infra l'uno a l'altro." "*From this eastern sea one beholds the western sea. There are 6 miles of land between the one and the other.*"

East of this isthmus lies the puzzling extension of the peninsula of Cape Cod,—the Terra Florida of Verrazano, 1524, and of Thevet, 1556; the Cape Norumbegue of Allefonsce, 1540-45. It is shown on Maiollo's map.

Dr. De Costa (Northmen in Maine, p. 93) pointed out Allefonsce's recogni-

Въсѣмъ де мѣлюю конроуиакѣмъ  
-нѣмъ ꙗкоу ꙗкоу. 1527. де 22 деценбріа

Lumber Macancer

**·MAR E OCEANVM·**

square inch.

De jussione matello composy hanc cartam  
3. j. anna de anno dñi 1524. die xagustij.

MAIOLLO, OR MAGGIOLLO, 1527.<sup>1</sup>



You will find Flora, Port du Refuge, Port Real, and Le Paradis, mentioned by Thevet, on Gastaldi's map, 1550, and the two former names, together with the letter M, on the map of Hieronymus Verrazano. The map of Gastaldi still retains the shadow of Cabot's sketch and of Cosa's Straits (the notion of the margin of an archipelago).

You will observe Refugium, and Porto Reale, and possibly the M, on the globe of Ulpius. Refugium, P. Reale, and Flora are given on Maiollo's map.

You will find the name Nurumberg and the letter M with I. [P.?] Refuge, P. Real, Le Paridis, and Cape Breton and Claudia replaced by Brisa I., on the map of Ruscelli,

tion of Florida in the region of lat.  $42^{\circ}$  N., and also his recognition of Massachusetts Bay, in this latitude. This name was one of several bestowed by the early French navigators, all of which read like exclamations of delight in view of the scenery of the coast: Terra Florida, Valle Ambrosa, Buena Flor, Larcadia, Flora, Paradiso, Refugium, etc. Norman Villa, which appears on the Verrazano maps and the globe of Ulpius, probably refers to a structure ascribed to the Northmen.

A comparison of the outline of Maiollo's map of 1527 (Weise's Discoveries of America to 1525), from Terra Florida southwestward to the strait that communicates with the western ocean, with the Coast Survey map from Cape Cod to the Chesapeake (or possibly the Delaware) Bay will suggest that the map ascribed to Verrazano rests upon a voyage past the narrow neck at Barnstable, — the isthmus separating the Atlantic from the Mare Verrazana (Lok's map); — past Buzzard's Bay, shown on the Map-a-mundi of the Propaganda collections (Judge Daly's Address, 1879) as a break in the continuity; past Newport island and harbor (*Rio de Espiritu Santo*); thence to Montauk (*Resife*) and along the south shore of Long Island (without a harbor) to the entrance to the Hudson; thence up the Hudson to Manhattan Island, with the recognition of the North and East rivers, so called; thence past the strait below Staten Island; and along the coast to the entrance to a large bay presenting a water horizon on the west. The voyage may, of course, have been in the opposite direction.

The embarrassment to cartographers growing out of the existence of *two* Floridas is sufficiently obvious to the student of Maiollo's map and of the Map-a-mundi above referred to.

1561. (Brisa is French for breakers; see *breakers* several times repeated on Coast Survey map.)

Buno (Buno's Cluverius) mentions as belonging to *Norumbegua* these several places; namely, Porto del Refugio, Porto Reale, Paradiso, Flora, and Angolema.<sup>1</sup>

The M is not given on the map of Champlain, 1603, nor on that of Smith, 1614.

The M appears at Salem in great distinctness on Winthrop's map (1634), together with Baker's Island, under which Winthrop anchored in 1630, as I conceive Cabot to have done June 24, 1497, one hundred and thirty-three years before.

Finally the M appears at Salem on the Coast Survey map with Baker's Island (Brisa or Briso) and *Breakers*, designated as outer, inner, middle, dry, southeast, etc., studding the outer harbor.<sup>2</sup>

The identity of the outline M with the earlier Norumbega and the later Nahumbeak and the present outline of Salem harbor will be obvious on a glance at the outlines, from Lok down to the Coast Survey, which I submit herewith.

<sup>1</sup> The various forms of this name—as given on Ruscelli's map, Angoulesmes; on Gastaldi's, Angoulesme; and the same in Thevet's account— all follow the *Anguilems* of Maiollo's Verrazana, and apply, I conceive, to Charles River. This conception has support in that one of the names of the Charles, or of a section of it, was the descriptive Mi-sha-um,—the great-parallel-sided,—or *Eel-river*, of which Anguileme may be the French equivalent.

<sup>2</sup> As lending support to the notion that the name "Baker's," which was attached to the island as early as 1630 (History of Naumkeag), may have been a corruption of *Breakers*, it may be mentioned that I have sought in vain for the name of Baker in all published lists of emigrants in the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies of dates earlier than 1630.







The island off the letter M is seen on the map of Lok (John Cabot's sketch, *Claudia*); without name on Gastaldi's; as *Brisa I.* on Ruscelli's; as *St. Nicolaus de la Trinidad* on Cosa's; *Luisa* (possibly Marblehead Neck, formerly an island) on Verrazano's (Maiollo's and Hieronymus Verrazano's); and islands without name off Refugium and Porto Reale on the globe of Ulpius. It is also given on Thevet's map, in about its proper position, as *Claude*.<sup>1</sup>

## IV.

I have further taken the names and distinctive features on Cabot's sketch in Lok's map, and have traced them through a long series of maps down to the time of Winthrop, with the successive accessions of new names, and from time to time the disappearance of others, either by dropping out or by replacement, showing, as it were, dovetailing, which binds the series of maps together.

There came early the confusion flowing out, possibly, of some cartographer's confounding the Gut of Canso with the narrow strait connecting Annisquam with Gloucester harbor, which makes Cape Ann an island, and so duplicating Cape Breton, St. Johan, Port Real, Isla Primera, and New-found-land at the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

<sup>1</sup> The claim for the identity of *Claudia* with the islands mentioned may seem to be impaired when it is seen that Mercator (1569) separates *Claudia* and *Briso* (*Brisa*) widely from each other, and when it is further seen that both Mercator and Wyfliet (Augmentum to Ptolemy, 1597) give *Yla primera* as distinct from *Claudia*, and both from *Briso*. But I refer for the detailed consideration of this apparent objection to my full paper.

Early, also, came with Ribero, 1529, the name St. Christopher, which clings with great persistence on the maps of the sixteenth century, and in unvarying succession northward with the bay or river of San Antonio (Jones's River) and Montana Verde (Blue Hills of Milton). South or east of this group is C. de Arenas (or some modification of the Latin for *keel* or *sand*, — Cape C<sup>o</sup>; north of it, more or less distant, the Bay of St. John the Baptist; and farther on, Cape Breton (Cape Ann). If the circumstance that Plymouth inner harbor is bare, or nearly so, at low tide suggested to the early navigator the idea of *wading*, and so the use of the name of the Saint, we have a point to which the varying geographical names, within certain limits, may be referred for adjustment. But this I will not pursue further here. Dr. Kohl (p. 276) suggests that Gomez was the probable author of this name and many others on Ribero's map.

## V.

All the above suggestions as to the site of the Norumbega of Cabot must eventually revolve about, and be in harmony with, the requirements of the latitude.

On the map of Lok, 1582, the sketch of Cabot against Claudia lies, as nearly as may be, between 42° and 43° N. This latitude or belt includes the region between the northern portion of the peninsula of Cape Cod and, on the Coast Survey map, a point just north of the mouth of the Merrimack.

On Wytfliet, 1597, it is in about 44°.

On the Spanish Map-a-mundi, 1527 (in J. C. Brevoort's Verrazano), the region would be between  $40^{\circ}$  and  $47^{\circ}$  N.

On Maggiolo's Verrazano (Winsor's America) it would be south of  $40^{\circ}$ , while on that of Hieronymus Verrazano it would be north of  $45^{\circ}$ .

On the Dauphin map, 1543, it would be between  $41^{\circ}$  and  $44^{\circ}$  N.

On Ulpius's Globe, between  $40^{\circ}$  and  $45^{\circ}$  N.

On Ruscelli, 1561, it is between  $40^{\circ}$  and  $50^{\circ}$ . But he includes, as I conceive, within the same latitudes as does Gastaldi, 1550, the principal islands off the coast of Maine from Mount Desert southward.

On Ribero, 1529, it is between  $41^{\circ}$  and  $44^{\circ}$ .

On Vallard, 1543, it is between  $42^{\circ}$  and  $45^{\circ}$ .

On the (so-called) Sebastian Cabot map, 1544, it is between  $41^{\circ}$  and  $44^{\circ}$ .

Thevet, 1556, who claims to have personally visited the region, says distinctly it (Norumbegue) "*lies in the forty-third degree*;" that is, between  $42^{\circ}$  and  $43^{\circ}$  N.

Ogilby says (p. 138): ". . . Norumbegua, most of it, being *under the forty-third degree* of latitude."

Allefonsce, the pilot of Robeval in 1540, who coasted the shores of New England, says (MSS. in Bibliothèque Nat.): "The cape of St. John called Cape Breton" [these are names on Cabot's chart, Lok's map, 1582] "and the Cape San Franciscane are northeast and southwest, and range a point from an east and west course, . . . and there are one hundred and forty leagues on the course, and which makes one cape, called the Cape of Norem-begue. The said cape is past forty-one degrees of the

height of the Arctic pole. The said coast is all sandy, . . . flat, without any mountain, and along this coast there are many isles of sand, and the coast very dangerous on account of banks and rocks." This description agrees well with the region of Cape Cod from Nantucket to Nahant. The Cape San Franciscane may have been Montauk, which is tolerably near to a prolongation of the range from Cape Ann, as given by Allefonsce.

This relation is of interest as determining the identity of the Cape Norombegue of Allefonsce with Cape Cod, which is, he says, "past" or "through [that is, next above] forty-one degrees of the height of the Arctic pole." Cape Malebar is between  $41^{\circ}$  and  $42^{\circ}$ ; and the forty-second crosses the peninsula just south of Provincetown, near the extreme point of the Cape.

Allefonsce proceeds to say:—

*"Beyond the Cape of Norombegue the River of the said Norombegue descends about twenty-five leagues from the Cape."*

I cite this testimony of Allefonsce in regard to the latitude of the region of Norombegue, as *his profession was that of pilot, and his testimony unimpeachable*; and he may be fairly presumed to be not more than one degree, at the utmost, out of the way in a matter of latitude. I cite him also because he endorses, in regard to latitude, the statement of Thevet, which statement by itself would perhaps be less entitled to confidence.

Within this belt of latitude of  $42^{\circ}$  to  $43^{\circ}$ , between Cape Cod and Cape Ann,—the Carenas and Cape Breton of Cabot (the latter the Cape Breton of Allefonsce as well),

—within this belt there is but one outline, with an opposing island, to which the terms *Norumbega* and *Nakumbeak* apply; and that is the outline of which the *Norum*, the *Nahum*, the *Tongue*, is SALEM NECK.

## VI.

## NORUMBEGA OR NORUMBEGUE OF CHAMPLAIN.

The suggestion that *Norumbega* lay in higher latitude rests, or is supposed to rest, on the authority of Champlain. From him and his surveys Lescarbot and De Laet, Montanus and Ogilby, derive their authority. Champlain spent three summers in the examination of the New England coast, and yet did not penetrate the mouth of the Charles, and only glanced at the entrance to the Merrimack. Champlain was looking for a *town* of *Norumbega*. He distinctly says he found *nothing corresponding* with the descriptions he had read, although he writes *Norembegue* along the coast between the *Kennebec* and *Penobscot*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Mr. Slafter, p. 107, in his carefully prepared paper on Champlain, Winsor's "America," referring to the stay and work of Champlain for three summers, says: "The first of these surveys was made during the month of September, 1604. This expedition was under the sole direction of Champlain, and was made in a barque of seventeen or eighteen tons, manned by twelve sailors and with two Indians as guides. He examined the coast from the mouth of the St. Croix to the Penobscot. . . . Sailing up the Penobscot, called by the Indians *Pentagoet*, and by Europeans who have passed along the coast the *Norumbegue* (as he supposed), he explored this river to the head of tide-water, at the present city of Bangor, where a fall in the river intercepted his course. In the interior along the shores of the river he saw scarcely any inhabitants; but by a very careful examination he was satisfied



In studying Champlain's original paper it is seen that he regarded the latitude of Norumbega as only very imperfectly settled; and having learned from Allefonsce (and Thevet?) of a *river* Norumbegue, and having failed to recognize the Charles, and having only sailed by the mouth of the Merrimack, he assumed at first that the site *must* be on the Penobscot, as it was, he judged, the only river considerable enough to be so distinguished. Although in the end he discredits the whole theory and notion on which he at first acted, such was the currency gained through his great name, that, *solely* from his having *looked* for the site of the town on the Penobscot, all writers upon Norumbega since his time have assumed that somewhere on this river the town once existed, and its remains might some day be found.

Dr. Palfrey, in his History of New England (probably from having carefully examined Champlain's narration), ignored the whole story of Norumbega. The name kept its foothold in Gilbert, John Smith, De Laet, Montanus, Cluverius, Heylin, Lescarbot, Laudonnière, Ogilby, and others, and is found on a great series of maps,<sup>1</sup> and even has a place in "Paradise Lost" (liber x.).

beyond a doubt that the story, which had gained currency from a period as far back as the time of Allefonsce, about a large native town in the vicinity, whose inhabitants had attained to some of the higher arts of civilization, was wholly without foundation."

<sup>1</sup> Allefonsce, 1540-45.

Thevet, 1556.

Zaltieri, 1566.

Ortelius, 1570.

John Dee, 1580.

Michael Lok, 1582.

Judaeis, 1593.

De Bry, 1596.

Wytfliet, 1597.

Quadius, 1900.

Winsor's America.





1. Portsmouth.
2. Tops.
3. Sagadahoc River.
4. River.
5. Richmond Island.
6. Cape.
7. Tops.
8. Sagadahoc River.
9. Sagadahoc River.
10. Sagadahoc River.
11. Sagadahoc.
12. Sagadahoc Island.
13. Sagadahoc.
14. Sagadahoc.
15. Sagadahoc.
16. Sagadahoc.
17. Sagadahoc.
18. Sagadahoc.
19. Sagadahoc.
20. Sagadahoc.

A glance at the Coast Survey map from the mouth of the Merrimack northward to the St. John's will be sufficient to show that there is nothing there, even if the adverse latitudes were left out of account, to correspond with the outline on Cabot's map from Cape Breton (Cape Ann) to Carenas (Cape Cod).

The accompanying sketch presents the coast of Maine from Portsmouth to Campobello, including the region specially examined for Norumbega by Champlain.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Dr. De Costa's paper on Norumbega in Winsor's "America."

## VII.

## NORUMBEGA AS A RIVER, FORT, AND TOWN.

It will have been observed that the testimony of Allefonsce and Thevet in regard to Norumbega as a *country* had a more limited and specific application than that of most of their contemporaries of the sixteenth, and successors of the seventeenth century.

Allefonsce says: "Beyond the Cape of Norumbegue the river of the said Norumbegue descends about twenty-five leagues from the Cape [Cape Cod]. The said river is . . . full of isles which stretch out ten or twelve leagues in the sea [Maffit's Ledge, Roaring Bulls, Lizard, Graves, etc.], and it is very dangerous on account of rocks and swashings."

*"The said river is through [i. e. next above] forty-two degrees of the height of the Arctic pole."*

*"Up the said river fifteen leagues there is a town which is called Norombegue, and there is in it a good people, and they have many peltries of many kinds of animals."*

Allefonsce, whose relation is largely a sailor's disjointed aggregation of instructions for the guidance of mariners, says, for example:—

"In going from the said river [Norumbegue] one hundred and fifty leagues, there is an island which is called Vermonde [Bermuda], which is in thirty-three degrees of north latitude."

And in the next sentence he says, instructing how to find the "ville"—settlement—of Norumbegue:—

"And on the side toward the west of the said 'ville' there is a range of rocks which extends into the sea fifteen leagues distant [Marblehead], and on the side towards the north [of Marblehead] there is a bay, in which is an isle which is very subject to tempests and cannot be inhabited [Baker's Island]."

Again he says:—

"The river of Norumbegue turns southwest around the coast away to the west at least two hundred leagues to a great bay [Vineyard Sound and Buzzard's Bay], which at its entrance is about twenty leagues wide, and at least twenty-nine leagues northward in this bay are *four islands joined together*" (Naushaun, Pasque, Nashawena, and Cuttyhunk).

Allefonsce had the idea that he had been sailing *along the skirt of an archipelago*.

He says, referring to a bay about Charleston or Savannah, that as he was unable to converse with the natives, he was not certain where the river Norumbegue communicated with the ocean. He also thinks it may connect with the St. Lawrence.<sup>1</sup>

The latitude (next above the forty-second degree) can apply only to the mouth of the Charles River. Regarding

<sup>1</sup> Ramusio says (Kohl, Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., p. 380. Diego Homem):—

"From the Reports of Cartier, we are not clear as yet whether New France is continuous with the Terra Firma of the provinces of Florida and New Spain, or whether it is all cut up into islands, and whether through these parts one can go to the province of Cataio, as was written to me many years ago by Master Sebastian Cabot, our Venetian."

Thus it appears that whether or not New England was an archipelago was not settled, at least to the satisfaction of Ramusio, as late as 1556.



the mouth as at the entrance to the Back Bay (so called Cottage Farm Station on the Boston and Albany Railroad), the latitude is  $42^{\circ} 21' 30''$ . Regarded as at the entrance to Cohasset rocks, it is  $42^{\circ} 16'$ .

The nearest river north is the Merrimack, in  $42^{\circ} 49'$ , and there are *no islands at the mouth of that river*.

There is no other stream of any considerable length between Boston Harbor and Cape Cod.

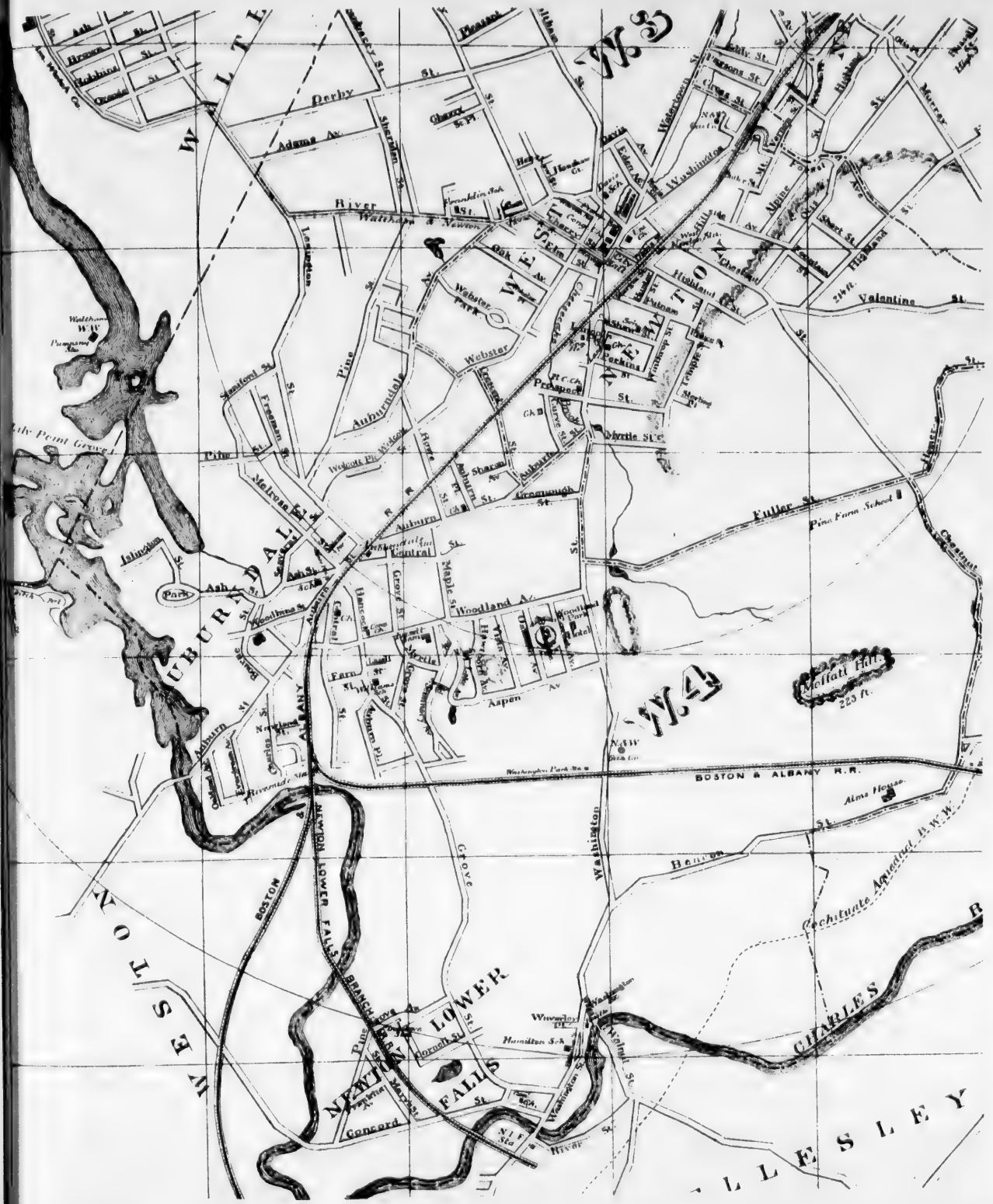
Fifteen leagues up the Charles River there was then, according to Allefonsce, a *trading resort or village* (city of Ramusio) called Norumbegue.

Now, we have already seen that this name, Norumbegue, means the tongue or *Norum* of a bay, or it may mean a *bay* from the bottom of which rises a tongue, a divider, a *Norum*; and this involves a sheet of water with a somewhat peculiarly scalloped shore. There is but one sheet of water on the Charles where these conditions occur, and that lies between Riverside, on the Boston and Albany Railroad, and Waltham, the city of watch manufacture, two miles to the north. Along the shores of this sheet of water, some mile and a half in length and of varying width, from a few rods to half a mile, there are several Norumbegas, — *not villages (or settlements of to-day), but peculiar forms of the shore*. The most striking are on the west side of the river, between the mouth of Stony Brook and Waltham.

I introduce here a map of the river which, owing to a rare grouping of glacial moraines for some distance above and below the mouth of Stony Brook, presents a most unexampled outline of shore.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Taken from map of Newton.







The next author who, so far as the *latitude* is concerned, is endorsed by Allefonsce, is Thevet. Beyond this, Thevet's support is in the *portrait* of the *localities* he has drawn. He says (Dr. Kohl, Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.): —

"Some people would make me believe that this country [Norumbegue] is the proper country of Canada. But I told them that this was far from the truth, *since the country lies in 43° N.*, and that of Canada in 50° or 52°."

That is, *it lies within the forty-third degree*, or between Cape Cod and a point a little north of the Merrimack, or, as Allefonsce read it, *through*, or in the next above 42° N.

Thevet gives instructions to mariners. He says: —

"Having left La Florida [the name first appearing on Verrazano's map, 1527, east of the isthmus described by Hieronymus Verrazano as six miles wide, and which separated the Mare Varrazano — the Atlantic *south* of Barnstable — from Massachusetts Bay], on the left hand, with all its islands, gulfs, and capes, a river presents itself which is one of the finest rivers of the whole world, which we call Norumbegue, and the aborigines Agoncy, and which is marked on some charts as the *Grand River*. Several other beautiful rivers enter into it; *and upon its banks the French formerly erected a little fort some ten or twelve leagues from its mouth, which was surrounded by fresh water, which flows here into the river, and this place was named the Fort of Norumbegue.*

"*Before you enter the said river appears an island surrounded by eight very small islets, which are near the Green Mountains [Blue Hills] and to the cape of the islets [Cohasset].*"

On Huth's map of Dr. Kohl (No. 1 of the page of outline charts, Maine Hist. Soc., p. 315) appears the circle of islets, eight in number, around another island, and the following names: the *C. de muchas islas*, the *R. de gomez, de estevan gomez*. There is just below or south of the Cohasset breakers an irregular circle of eight islands around a ninth near the shore, which is given in detail on the Coast Survey map, entitled *Minot's Ledge*, which locality I have visited for the purpose of verifying Thevet's account.

"From there," continues Thevet, "you sail all along unto the mouth of the river, which is dangerous from the great number of thick and high rocks [Cohasset rocks, Minot's ledges, the Lizard, Graves, etc.], and its entrance is wonderfully large. About three leagues into the river [measuring from Cohasset] an island presents itself to you, and may have four leagues in circumference, inhabited only by some fishermen and birds of different sorts, which island they call *Aiayascon* [Nantasket], *because it has the form of a man's arm which they call so*."

*Aiayascon* is the Iroquois for arm (De Lact, Montanus, Gallatin), and a glance at the Coast Survey map—remembering that the Indian name *describes the locality* to which it is affixed—will leave no doubt that the point Thevet described was Nantasket. The longer north and south portion was the arm *above* the elbow; the east and west portion, terminating at Hull, was the portion of the arm *below* the elbow.

Possibly Nantasket, to the student of comparative Indian philology, may contain reminiscences of *Aiayascon*.





The Iroquois and Algonquins were at war, and at this period, as Thevet describes in his account, the Iroquois were temporarily in possession of a part of the territory.

Aiayascon and Agency were Iroquois words. Norumbega was an Algonquin word. The name Agency means *the head*, and Thevet seems to think it applied to a rock.

The French had appropriated the name of Norumbega. It had already been extended from the coast outline at Salem over a country stretching, in the notion of some, through many degrees of latitude.

Allefonsce applied it to a cape (Cape Cod); it had been applied to the principal river (the Charles); it was borne by an Indian town (Allefonsce and Ingram); and, lastly, it had been given to a fort on the banks of the Charles, at the junction of a branch of this river with the main stream.

This location of Norumbega was recognized in various ways with greater or less distinctness on a multitude of maps.

On that of Homem it appears, as I conceive, as a flag near the head of a river, with a display of peaked rocks described by Allefonsce.<sup>1</sup>

It appears, as I conjecture, in the towers and gateway between, of a fort; and near it the cluster of peaked rocks, referred to by Allefonsce, on the Dauphin map of 1543.

At the junction of two rivers the fort itself, or a town, appears on the map of Wytfliet. It is also on the map of Thevet and on Mercator's.

<sup>1</sup> Have we in the large bay immediately above (Homem's Survey of Boston Harbor), with the rivers on the south and the many islands with which we are now familiar?



The name or junction is indicated on Freire, 1546; on Jomard, 155 (?); Zaltieri, 1566; Ortilius, 1570; John Dee, 1580; De Bry, 1596; Quadus, 1600; Botero, 1603; De Laet, 1633.

The circlet of islands described by Thevet is perhaps indicated on Zaltieri, 1566 and Porcacchi, 1572, but most distinctly on the map of Lauth, copied by Dr. Kohl.

As a country, it was made by some (Laudonnière and others) to extend from beyond the St. Lawrence to Florida.

Smith made the southern boundary contiguous with Virginia, which then included a part of the present New England.

It certainly underlaid the New France of Verrazano; the Francisco of the Ptolemy of 1530; Franciscane of Alloufonsce; La Nuova Francia, or La Nova Franza, etc., of Gastaldi, 1550; of Zaltieri, 1566; of Orteleus, 1570; Judaeis, 1595; De Bry, 1596; Quadus, 1600; and Hondius, 1607.

They placed the fort at or near the junction of two streams, which united to form the Rio Gamas, or the Rio Grande, or Buena Madre, which uniformly terminated in an archipelago, sometimes called the Archipelago of Gomez, or B. St. Mary's, at the entrance to which was the Cabo de Muchas Islas, or Cape de lagus Islas, or Cape St. Mary's, etc. After Thevet, for a long time authors identified the river Norembugue or Norumbega, with Rio Las Gamas and Rio Grande. Herrera identifies Las Gamas with river of St. Mary's (see Kohl, p. 420). The Sebastian Cabot map (1544) identifies Bay Santa Maria with the archipelago near Montana Verde (next





to Rio San Antonio), which on some maps is Buena Madre, on others Bonne Mère, and which, despite of much confusion, can, as I conceive, only refer to Boston Harbor. It was from Bay St. Mary's, within sight of a mountain some thirty leagues to the north called Banachoonan (Agamenticus), that David Ingram,<sup>1</sup> within a day's journey of Bega and Norumbega, set sail for France in 1569.

When I had read these records and studied these maps, and compared them with other ancient maps, and those of recent date of the counties and towns of Massachusetts in my possession, and it had become clear to me that they described a locality at the junction of Stony Brook with the Charles River in the town of Weston, county of Middlesex, I drove with a friend from Cambridge through a region I had never before visited, of the topography of which I knew nothing, except as indicated on the maps, to the junction of Stony Brook and the Charles, *where I found the remains of the fort* of which I enclose the accompanying survey, made by Mr. Davis, the Engineer of the Cambridge City Water Works.

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. De Costa's Ingram's Relation, Mag. Am. Hist. vol. ix.

The plan sustains the description of Thevet, in regard to the ditch and general features.

The Agency of Thevet,—the head,—a high, isolated, rounded rock, and the traces of an ancient Indian village near, are on the line of the ditch which takes the water from Stony Brook.

I found, on inquiry, that the ditch has been known to the proprietor from his boyhood. He supposed it had served for purposes of irrigation. But though the property had been in his family for a century or more, he had never heard of its being used for any purpose whatever. The ditch is altogether about 2,300 feet long, of uniform level from the point on Stony Brook where the water was received, to near where it discharged beyond the Fort into the Charles.<sup>1</sup>

I forbear further details at present, both as to the results of excavations made and the attempt to determine the locations mentioned by Ingram, adding simply an outline map of the Coast Survey and the Cabot sketch, and a legend that explains itself.

<sup>1</sup> What evidences there are of the existence of one or more ancient Indian villages in this neighborhood will be presented in my full paper.





*Legend.*

Coast Survey Chart, with some ancient names and points indicated, and identified with modern names and localities.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Fort Norumbegue,                                      | Mouth of Stony Brook, right bank.                   |
| 2. Norumbega of J. Cabot, 1497,                          | Salem Neck and North and South Rivers.              |
| 3. Cape Breton,  | Cape Ann.   |
| 4. Claudia, Brisa, Briso, and Yla Primera,               | Baker's Island and Breakers.                        |
| 5. Carenas,  | C. de Arenas, Cape Cod.                             |
| 6. Montes Johannis,                                      | Blue Hills, Milton.                                 |
| 7. Isthmus of Verrazano,                                 | Neck of Peninsula of Cape Cod, near Barnstable.     |
| 8. River of Norumbegue of Allcfonsce,                    | Charles River.                                      |
| 9. Mouth of Merrimack (?) and St. Lawrence. (?)          |   |
| 10. Plymouth Beach (outside of Bay of St. Christopher?). |   |
| 11. Rio Sanantonio,                                      | Jones River, separating Accomac from the Peninsula. |
| 12. B. Espiritu Santo,                                   | Bay and Island of Newport.                          |
| 13. Aiayascon,   | Nantasket.  |
| 14. Na-sha-un,   | Naushaun.   |
| 15. Sha-um-ut,   | Boston.   |
| 16. Norman Villa, (?)                                    | Winthrop Point (?)—Nahant. (?)                      |
| 17. C. de Lisarte of Cosa,                               | Nahant. (?)   |
| 18. Nahum-keake,   | Marblehead and Neck, and bay between.               |
| 19. Crossa-ness of the Norsemen, (?)                     | The Gurnet.   |



20. Plymouth Beach.  
 21, 22. East and West chop  
         at entrance to Holmes  
         Holl,                      Martha's Vineyard.  
 23. St. Johan of J. Cabot and    One of Turk's Heads of  
         Allefonsce,                Smith. (?)  
 24. Aredonda of J. Cabot,        Another of Turk's Heads of  
                                       Smith. (?)

## VIII.

It remains to take from Allefonsce's relation one passage more.<sup>1</sup> It touches the assumption with which this letter opened.

I directed attention to Cabot's sketch in Lok's map of 1582, in which is an island, the inscription "John Cabot, 1497," the names Norombega, Cape Breton, and St. Johan, and the outline of shore against Claudia in latitude between 42° and 43° north.

I have assumed the Cape Breton of Cabot to be the Cape Ann of to-day. The doubt is whether the language of Allefonsce applied to the Cape Breton at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, the latitude of which is in about 46° 15' north.

Allefonsce says: "Le dict Cap Breton de la mer oceane est *par quarante et deux degrez* de la haulteur du polle Artique."

<sup>1</sup> "e ditz que ce Cap de Ratz et le Cap de Breton et plus de ports en le mer oceane qui est une isle appellée aussi S. Jehan, sur lest Nord est et ouest sud ouest. Il y a en la route quarte vingt lieues. Le dict Cap Breton de la mer oceane est *par quarante et deux degrez* haulteur du polle Artique."

"*The said Cape Breton of the ocean is through [that is, next to and above] forty-two degrees of north latitude.*"<sup>1</sup>

Now, the latitude of Cape Ann on the United States Coast Survey map is  $42^{\circ} 38' N$ .

Having placed the Cape Breton and the River Norumbegue and the bay and neck between of Norumbega within the limits of the forty-third degree, there is nothing further of assumption requiring authority for support.

<sup>1</sup> The transfer of Cape Breton from latitude  $42^{\circ} 38'$  to latitude  $46^{\circ} 15'$  was but three degrees and a half; while the transfer in longitude was more than ten degrees. *Longitude* and *distance* were of course liable to be greatly at fault, while latitude was observed to within a degree. This transfer may have been in part due, as already intimated, to mistaking the Gut of Canso for the strait connecting Annisquam with Gloucester harbor, which separates Cape Ann (as an island) from the mainland; and also from confounding the eastern coast of New-foundland (the name by which Norumbega, the region discovered by John Cabot, was known to Henry VII.), its many bays, indentations of the coast, and mountains, with the group of islands from Mount Desert southward. Cape Race is given on the map of Gastaldi almost in the latitude of Cape Breton (Cape Ann), and Mercator (1569) divides Newfoundland into several islands.

## IX.

## CONCLUSIONS.

I submit —

1st. That the site of the Landfall of John Cabot in 1497 has been determined to be Salem Neck, in  $42^{\circ} 32'$  north latitude, the Norum (the Neck, to one standing on it) of the Norumbega of Cabot, and the Nahum of the Nahumbeak of Ogilby and Smith. The first land *seen* may have been Cape Ann, or possibly the mountain, Agamenticus.

2d. That the town of Norumbegue, on the river of Norumbegue of Allefonsce, the Norumbega visited by Ingram, and the fort of Norumbegue and the village of Agency of Thevet, were on the Charles River between Riverside and Waltham, at the mouth of Stony Brook, in latitude  $42^{\circ} 21'$  north.<sup>1</sup>

3d. That John Cabot preceded Columbus in the discovery of America.

I am, very truly, yours,

E. N. HORSFORD.

It is proper here to express my great indebtedness to Mr. Winsor, who has kindly permitted me to see advance sheets of the elaborate papers by himself, by Mr. Charles

<sup>1</sup> Middlesex County, State of Massachusetts, U. S. A.



SITE OF FORT NORUMBEGA OF THE YET,  
FROM  
THE BECA OF INGRAM; CHARLES RIVER AGAINST THE MOUTH  
OF STONY BROOK. LAT. 42° 21'.

Map of Mercator.

Map of Champlain.

Map of Lescarbot.

Map of De Laet.

John Smith's Map, 1614.

Winthrop's Map of 1634.

United States Coast Survey Maps and Tracings.

Tracings of various outlines of Naames-Keaket.

Charles River between Waltham and Riverside, — part of official map of Newton and surrounding towns. (Bega of Ingram.)

Survey of Fort of Norumbega.

Numerous tracings of Maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

NOTE. — Besides correcting the text of my letter to Judge Daly, as printed in the October Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, I have, in this edition, printed for private circulation, expanded several of the notes, and added some new ones, making suggestions which will, I trust, not detract from the force of the argument as first drawn out. — E. N. H.

